The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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Democratic Party Is Threatened by Split

Meeting of President with Members of Congress Seen as Move to Heal Breach

ISSUES ARE FUNDAMENTAL

Conflicting Philosophies of Government May Eventually Lead to New Party Alignment

Political prophets have been working overtime lately. Some of them are predicting the breakup of the Democratic party. Others, agreeing that a break in the Democratic ranks is likely, go further and say that the Republicans have fought their last big fight under the old name, that the party will disband as such and, joining with the conservative Democrats, form a new party which will oppose the New Deal. There are many political observers, however, who do not look for such dramatic developments. They do not expect a definite split among the Democrats in the near future, nor do they anticipate the immediate passing of the G. O. P. They predict a battle royal in both parties for control of party machinery and party policies. They regard the revolt of conservative Democrats in the Senate and the House against certain New Deal measures as an opening skirmish in the battle for Democratic control.

Democratic Division

There is agreement among prophets and observers, however, that the party situation is tense and uncertain, and that almost anything may happen within the next three years. Everyone knows that the Republicans are divided into factions and that there is a confusion of counsel as to what the party's program should be. That was one reason for the poor showing the Republicans made last November. It is equally well known that the Democrats are sharply divided. Senators like Glass and Byrd of Virginia, Tydings of Maryland, and a dozen or two more of the conservatives, have little in common with President Roosevelt and the New Dealers. All of them are called Democrats, but they are as far apart as political leaders could easily be. The real split has been present for a long time. The antagonism has smoldered beneath the surface. Recent events have brought it to the surface. The rebellion of a number of Democrats against the President's Supreme Court plan has dramatized the issue within the Democratic party. More recently the fight in the House and the Senate to change the administration's relief policy has been even more significant. In the course of the debate on the relief question, representatives of the factions among the Democrats have spoken quite plainly to each other. The contest can no longer be said to be beneath the surface. For the time being, at least, it is out in the open.

That is why the Democratic leaders in the Senate and House have taken time off to go over to Jefferson Island in Chesapeake Bay for a three-day conference. That is why President Roosevelt is there. The President has been talking with representatives and senators, trying to line them up; trying to smooth out differences and prevent an open break.

The political contests which we are witnessing today differ from those with which the American public has been familiar during the last generation, in that they are being fought out over issues which are

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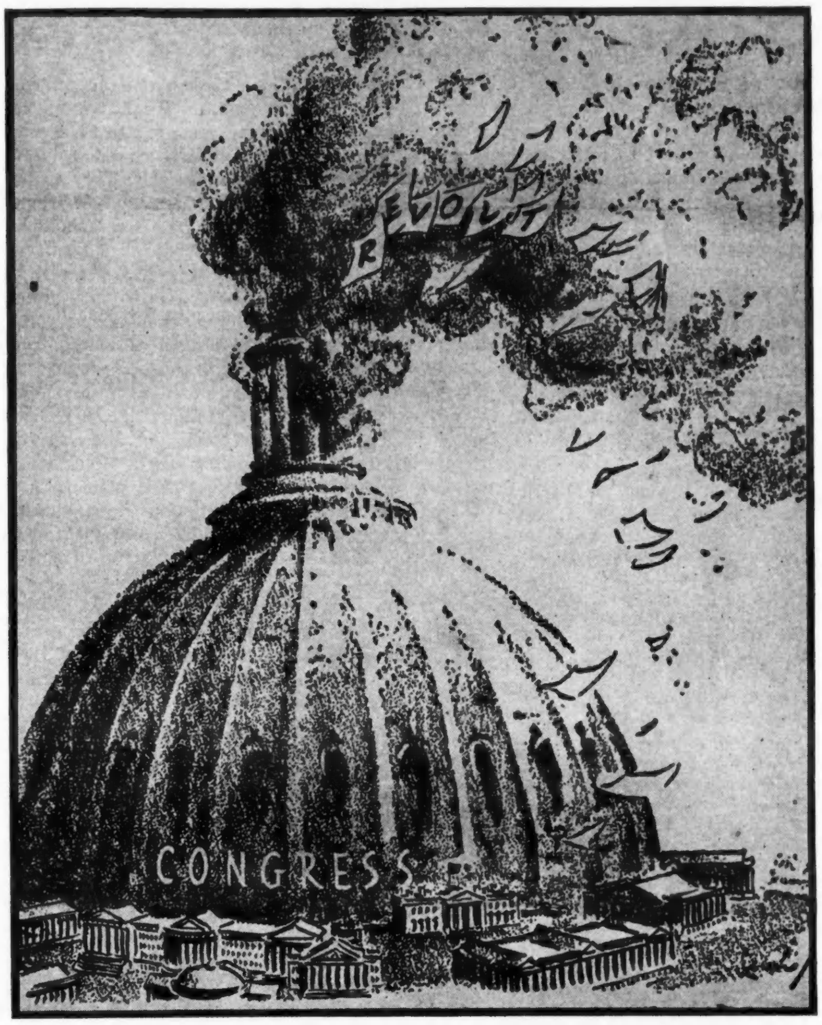


OMINOUS RUMBLINGS IN OLD VESUVIUS — MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

Freeing the Mind

If civic education is to mean anything at all; if it is to make an important contribution to good citizenship, it must be effective in breaking down prejudices. There can be little growth in the power to see complex issues clearly and to consider them wisely so long as the mind is hampered by emotional attitudes formed without reasonable support. This is true in the case of the great issues of the present day, such, for example, as those which arise out of labor controversies. These issues are complex. They can be understood only by one who brings information and experience and patience and open-mindedness to bear upon his studies. One can comprehend the meaning of the struggles now going on only if he studies the issues in human terms, which means that he must turn the events and problems incident to the struggles over in his mind, seeing first one angle and then another. He must be able to look upon today's situation as it appears to the worker. Then he must see it with the eyes of the employer. In the end he need not agree with either. He need not support the tactics of either. But he can come to no dependable conclusion as to policies which should be adopted until he understands the forces—the human hopes, purposes, determinations—which are at work. These forces must be taken into account and adjusted before there can be a lasting settlement.

But it is precisely such a comprehensive understanding which is rendered impossible by the existence of emotionalized prejudgments. And it is only the exceptional individual who can free himself from opinionated notions when he stands in the presence of embittered issues, such as that which has developed in the steel industry. One who approaches the problems of the hour with judgments arrived at in the absence of evidence—judgments definitely upholding or condemning either side—is in a poor position to find the truth. Yet such is the situation of most supposedly well-informed men and women. The opinions they express when speaking of strike activities are ordinarily not opinions at all, but expressions of emotion.

How is one to free himself from prejudice? How is he to learn to walk in the light of reason? There is no completely satisfactory answer to the question, for the wholly reasonable individual has not yet been found. But one who acquires the habit of always looking for the best possible argument on the other side whenever he hears or reads an impassioned statement on a highly controversial question, will grow in tolerance and broad-mindedness. He will break down walls which otherwise would render him narrow of mind and short of vision.

Russia in Midst of Struggle for Power

Violent Repression Results from Opposing Views on Policies of Government

COMMUNISM NOT AN ISSUE

Fascist Nations Become Increasingly Aggressive as Russia Appears to Exhibit Weakness

History, strange and dramatic, is being made in Russia today. Since the first of the year more than 100 high officials in the Communist party have been executed. Thousands of Communists have been dropped from the party rolls. Then, as a grand climax, eight generals of the Red Army are hastily tried for high treason, found guilty, and executed. And no one knows why. Official explanations are given, but not believed. Most of them sound too incredible. Here, then, is a mystery of the first order—one which deeply affects 175,000,000 Russian people and which may have a vital bearing on the whole of Europe.

Until recent months, the situation in Russia has seemed to be unusually stable. Each year has brought new industrial progress. On the surface, there has appeared to be a growing unity among the leaders and the people. But once again we are shown how impossible it is to know the extent of dissatisfaction in a country which operates under an iron-clad dictatorship. Apparently there has been increasing discontent with the Stalin regime; at least among the leaders of the nation.

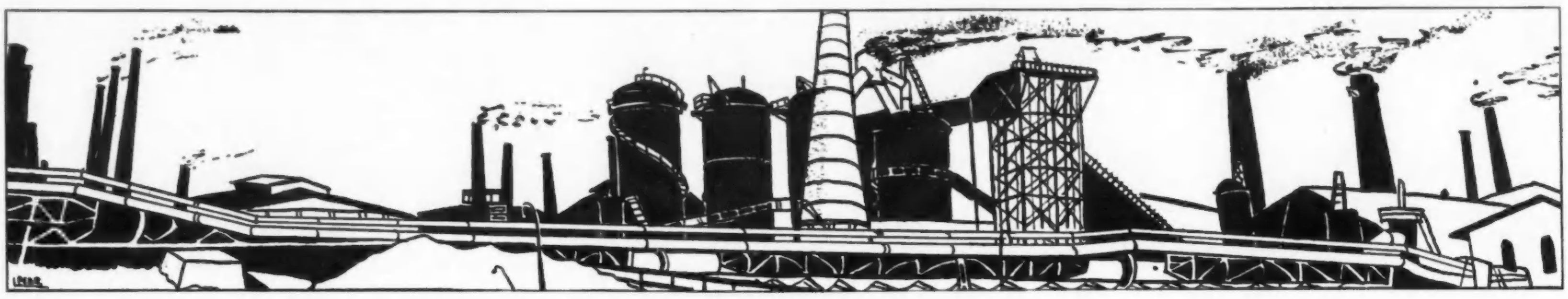
What Will Be Outcome?

Now the questions being asked in all parts of the world are these: Did Stalin discover the widespread plot against his regime in time to suppress it? Or is the opposition to the present rulers so powerful that they are doomed? If Stalin is overthrown, does it mean the end of the communist experiment in Russia? What effect will the present struggle in Russia have on the rest of Europe? Will the fascist nations, Germany and Italy, seize this opportunity to try to win control of Russian territory?

No outsider, of course, is capable of accurately interpreting the meaning of the late developments in Russia. The facts simply are not available. It is possible, though, to consider some of the more plausible explanations for the rebellion against the Stalin regime. There are a number of reasons why a good many Russian leaders would take great pleasure in seeing Stalin removed from his exalted post.

As a matter of fact, ever since Stalin became dictator of Russia he has had many enemies. When any new group comes into power, there is always a struggle for control within that group. Some of the communist leaders disliked Stalin from the outset because they were jealous of him. They felt themselves to be his intellectual superiors. Others opposed Stalin on principle. They had different notions as to how communism should be put into practice. Lenin, the father of Russian communism, belonged to this latter group. He once described Stalin as "a rude, uncouth fellow," unfit to govern.

Nevertheless, Stalin had qualities of leadership which could not be kept down. He knew what he wanted and went about to get it determinedly and ruthlessly. He



SOVIET PANORAMA
(Drawing by Lillian Pear in "Soviet Russia Today")

and his group of faithful supporters gradually overcame their opponents within the Communist party and took complete control. The first big dispute within the party developed over the issue of whether Russia should confine her efforts to making communism succeed in that country or whether she should make every attempt to promote a world revolution. Stalin believed that the best policy was to forget about the rest of the world and to make communism a great success in Russia. He felt that the capitalist nations would not work so hard to defeat the communist experiment in Russia if they knew that the Soviet government was not trying to spread the system elsewhere. Trotsky thought otherwise, and that is why he is in Mexico today.

Stalin Strengthens Position

After driving Trotsky out of the country, Stalin and his followers tightened their grip on the Communist party. But while their opponents have been shot, put in prison camps, and silenced in other ways, many of them are still there, waiting for the opportunity to destroy Stalin. Secretly, patiently, they have been plotting and scheming. Discontented civilians and army leaders have been working together in an underground movement.

It is not only the Trotsky followers, however, who are opposed to the Stalin dictatorship. There are other Russian leaders who are dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs, but for entirely different reasons. One important cause of discontent is the political bureaucracy which has grown up under Stalin. The members of this bureaucracy, all of whom are close supporters of Stalin, have often abused their power. They have granted themselves and their friends special privileges. In many cases, these ruling bureaucrats see to it that they receive much higher incomes than their fellow workers do. Moreover, they have become increasingly sensitive to criticism, allowing less of it than they did several years ago. They have secluded themselves from the masses and have gotten increasingly out of touch with the common run of people.

Stalin, himself, has come to realize the seriousness of this problem. He has recently tried to do something about it. Earlier this year he made a dramatic gesture in giving the people a democratic constitution. Under this document, a great many more Russians than before were given the privilege of voting, the secret ballot was introduced, and freedom of speech was guaranteed. Recent developments, though, have shown this constitution to be a farce. A few weeks ago, Stalin warned the communist leaders that they must get in closer touch with the people and must be willing to accept "legitimate" criticism. Whether this will have any effect, or whether the warning came too late, remains to be seen.

Other Conflicts

Another reason why so many Russians have turned against Stalin, according to reports, is that he has been disregarding some of the essential features of communism. For example, wages vary greatly in the different industries. Some workers receive nearly twice as high pay as others. Many communists insist that this is a bad policy. They say it is dividing the nation into classes again. They argue that wages should be the same for all types of work.

The Stalin supporters take the position that it is necessary to offer greater rewards for those workers who make the effort to be efficient. The Russian people, owing to their lack of experience in an industrial society, are notoriously inefficient workers. Thus, according to the Stalin theory, it is essential in the early stage of the communist experiment to offer special inducements in the effort to make workers step along. It is argued by the Stalinites, however, that the main feature of communism is still in effect in Russia; namely, government ownership and operation of industry and agriculture. The Soviet government, it is said, keeps industry geared up to capacity, whereas if private individuals owned the nation's factories and resources

STALIN

they would produce only as much as they could in order to make a profit. It is pointed out that there is no unemployment in Russia, because there is work for everyone to do.

Now these are some of the conflicts of opinion which have arisen in Russia. To what extent the dissatisfied groups are cooperating in their effort to overthrow Stalin is not known at this time. But the plot must have been rather extensive to have thrown such grave fear in the hearts of the Stalinites.

Charges Exaggerated

This brings us to the charges which were made against the condemned and deceased plotters. Few competent foreign observers believe that the opponents of Stalin ever entered into an agreement with Germany and Japan to have these nations help them overthrow communism. What they might have done, however, according to Frederick Birchall, leading foreign correspondent of the New York *Times*, was this: They might have promised to give Germany and Japan certain areas of land in Russia on condition that these nations would not take advantage of a revolt in Russia to seize larger pieces of territory. In other words, they were unwilling to weaken their country by revolting unless they had assurances that foreign powers would not seize this opportunity to absorb a large part of Russian territory. If this is true, the reason that the Soviet authorities do not come out and say so to the Russian people is that it strengthens their position to accuse their plotting opponents of being grossly unpatriotic. That is why officially the wildest possible charges are made.

Industrial Progress

If the Stalin group withstands the present crisis, it will be partly because of the economic and industrial success it has had since it came into power. Few impartial observers will deny the rate of progress which has been shown in this respect. Winthrop Case, for example, writing for the New York *Times*, which is independently conservative, makes this statement: "At one extreme is Russia, whose factories last year turned out nearly five times as much goods as in 1928. . . ." And endless other figures could be cited to show the spectacular industrial progress which has been witnessed in that nation during recent years.

Some of the profound changes which have occurred in Russia since the communists seized power are vividly pointed out by Lewis L. Lorwin, American Economic Adviser to the International Labor Office. Mr. Lorwin recently paid a prolonged visit to Russia, after which he wrote a pamphlet on what he had seen. He says in part:

> It is in some of the large cities that the external evidences of industrial and cultural advance are particularly striking. Moscow is almost unrecognizable as compared with 1931. Many parts of the city have been modernized; streets have been widened and paved with asphalt; large squares have been laid out at different points in the city. Some of the streets radiating from these squares are lined with tall new buildings, some of them government offices and others apartment houses, hotels, workers' clubs, etc.
>
> As one drives through the Soviet cities, one cannot miss the fact that a new urban civilization is arising which is in profound contrast to the old. Not only in the large cities, too, but even in the smaller industrial towns one sees, sometimes side by side with the old one- and two-story wooden buildings or tenement houses, the modern structures which have been put up within the last four or five years. A number of these buildings are in the center of the cities, but most of the newer housing developments are on the outskirts of cities where they form compact industrial towns.
>
> As one looks further one finds more substantial evidences of industrial progress. If one visits the large department stores in Moscow, one will find there all sorts of articles, from pins and needles to electrical apparatus, gramophones, and wireless sets made in Soviet factories. True, many of these articles are not of the highest quality, but they are the first products of an indigenous industry.
>
> The changes in transportation are equally significant. Along the road one may see oil tanks, refrigerating cars, and hundreds of freight cars in which various commodities are being shipped from one end of the country to another. To one who remembers the U. S. S. R. a few years ago when passing trains and full freight cars were few and far between, this is indeed a revelation of the advance made. . . .
>
> Even more suggestive are the signs of the cultural revolution that is taking place. The crèches, schools, and clinics to be found in the villages, and the agricultural laboratories, very simple and crude though they may be, are symbolic of the effort to bring new ways and scientific methods into daily life. All these new elements, though still in the most rudimentary stage, represent the beginnings of a new rural civilization, likely to arise on the economic basis of collectivization.

Standard of Living

For two reasons, however, the masses of people in Russia have not benefited by the rapid industrial progress as much as might have been expected. First, a great deal of Russia's man power and money have gone into the building of a military machine so powerful that, if necessary, Russia could simultaneously fight Germany and Italy on her western borders, and Japan in the East. Second, the government is still laying great emphasis on building factories, machinery, railroads, and other industrial equipment. The people cannot eat these things, cannot wear them, nor can they live in them. And it is along these lines that the Russians have made the greatest progress. They have had more people at work in building industrial equipment than in producing goods, such as clothing and other things, which people need and can enjoy at the present time. But they keep holding out the hope that, as the country becomes more industrialized, the people will be given more and more of the good things of life. And it is true that the masses of people are getting an increasing quantity of these things each year. The standard of living is gradually rising.

For this reason, few of the Russian leaders, either of the Stalin group or those against him, appear to want to do away with communism. The present dispute seems to have nothing to do with the question of whether communism should be abolished and capitalism restored. On the contrary, as we have seen, many of the critics of Stalin feel that he has com-

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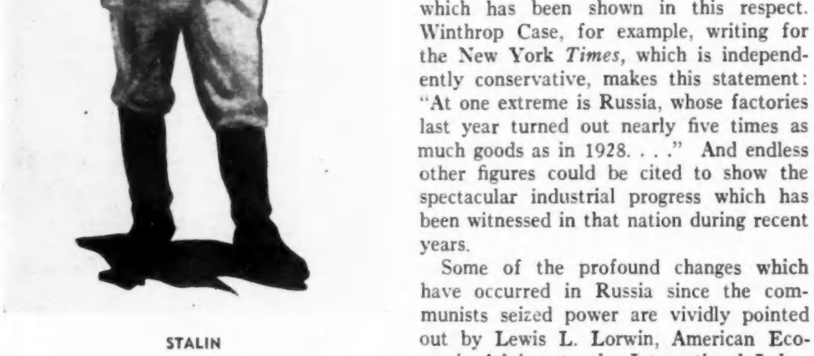

GUERIN MESCHINO, MILAN
I AM THE GUARD WHO WATCHES THE GUARD WHO SPIES ON THE GUARD WHO KEEPS AN EYE ON THE GUARD WHO GUARDS STALIN

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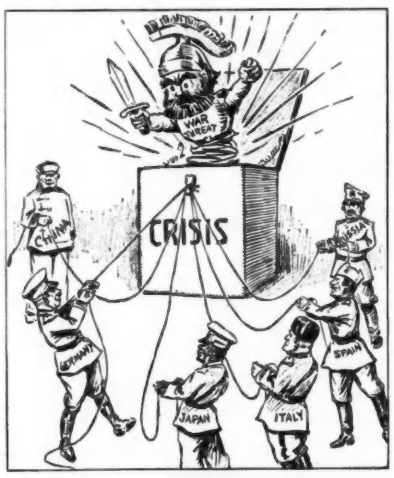
AROUND THE WORLD

China: Nowhere was the recent Japanese political crisis more closely followed than in China, and nowhere has its final outcome occasioned more genuine disappointment. Having lived, since 1931, in almost constant fear of the successive Japanese cabinets, every one of which was dominated by a military clique intent upon further expansion on the Asian mainland, the Chinese hoped that the forced resignation of Premier Senjuro Hayashi would perhaps usher in a more moderate era in Sino-Japanese relations. The new premier, Prince Fumimaro Konoye, had been widely heralded as a man of temperate disposition, not likely to yield to the saber-rattling demands of the military clique. There thus seemed to be every reason, a fortnight ago, for entertaining these hopes.

But the Chinese government now feels that little has been changed by the crisis at



HALLADAY IN PROVIDENCE JOURNAL
KEEPING HIM JUMPING

Tokyo. If anything, the future has grown more menacing. The fact that both the war and navy ministers in the Hayashi cabinet have been retained by Prince Konoye is taken to mean that the new regime, far from curbing the army faction, is prepared to work harmoniously with it. Moreover, other of the premier's appointments are distinctly disturbing. As his finance minister, Prince Konoye has chosen Dr. Eiichi Baba, who is known to favor the army's aggressive policy toward China and as his foreign minister, the prince has chosen Koki Hirota. Mr. Hirota has once before been in charge of the foreign office and his attitude toward China, both then and later when he was premier, is regarded as having been most unfriendly. Mr. Hirota is, in fact, author of the now famous "three-point program," providing for cultural and economic cooperation between the two nations, suppression of anti-Japanese agitation in China, and a united front against communism; a program which the Nanking government claims to be a veiled Japanese effort to bring China under complete Japanese domination. Shortly after accepting the ministerial portfolio, Hirota intimated that this program will be the basis of his foreign policy.

* * *

Germany: Paying no heed to reports that further suppression of religious freedom would invite drastic reprisals from the Vatican, the Nazi government has ordered the closing of all Catholic schools in Bavaria, one of the German states with a predominantly Catholic population. The government's decision affects thousands of students and, like the fist fighting which broke out in Munich a month ago between members of the Catholic and Hitler youth groups, it introduces a new note in the struggle between church and state. Until now, there seemed to be some disagreement over whether the government's measures were a violation of the concordat signed with the Vatican in 1933. There is no doubt that the decree abolishing the parochial schools disregards the express terms of that agreement.

The Nazi regime, on its side, claims that it is merely carrying out the wishes of the people. During recent weeks, officials have conducted elections in Bavaria to determine whether the inhabitants want their children to attend the Catholic schools or those maintained by the state. According to the officials, more than 97 per cent of the voters indicated their preference for the state schools. On the other hand, the church authorities deny that the elections were fair or even legal. They argue that Nazi party followers had intimidated the majority of voters so that they feared to oppose a move that was obviously sponsored by the government.

What action Pope Pius will decide to take is not, at the time of writing, quite certain. In Rome there were rumors that the Pontiff would excommunicate Chancellor Hitler. This, however, seems most unlikely and would but aggravate an already difficult situation. For the time being, it is said, the Vatican will content itself with appealing to the public opinion of the world and thereby hope to make the German government change its present attitude.

* * *

Turkey: It has become known, three months after the event, that a band of Kurdish tribes inhabiting the eastern interior of Turkey revolted against the government and waged a struggle that required the dispatch of 30,000 troops and a fleet of planes. The war, which has been described as "one of the most secret military operations in history," was fought in a region particularly inaccessible to modern war engines. It is without roads, and its many caverns furnish excellent refuges for bandits, many of whom had to be smoked out. Although the insurrection was finally quelled, it was not until 5,000 of the tribesmen had been slain. The rebels are said to have been irked by the modernization program upon which Turkey, under the dictatorship of Kemal Ataturk, has embarked. They resented having their region placed under a military administration and insisted that they continue paying taxes, not to the government at Angora, but to their tribal chieftains.

EWING GALLOWAY
VIEW OF A TURKISH SCHOOLROOM SHOWING PEOPLE OF ALL AGES ACQUIRING AN EDUCATION

THE BUND, SHANGHAI, CHINA
(Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railroad Co.)

* * *

Spain: After storming in vain for nearly three months against the gates of Bilbao, capital of the autonomous Basque province in northern Spain, the rebel forces commanded by General Francisco Franco have finally succeeded in breaking its defenses and have occupied the city. The capture, it is alleged, was effected primarily through the aid of German aircraft and a crack regiment of Italian volunteers, a charge partly supported by the unconcealed joy with which the Italian press spoke of "a victory for Italian Fascist arms."

There is no doubt that the collapse of Bilbao is a serious blow to the loyalist cause. Not only does it place the rich iron mines of the region in rebel control, but it also permits General Franco to release a large part of his army and considerable supplies for a renewed assault against Madrid, which, since last autumn, has several times repulsed the invaders. Oddly enough, however, the loyalist authorities at Valencia, while admitting that the situation is serious, deny that it is critical. They maintain that in the Bilbao drive, the rebel strength has reached its climax and is now about to decline, while the loyalist troops will now display their truly great offensive power.

This view is based upon several calculations, the most important of which is the belief that both Germany and Italy, anxious to convince Great Britain of their pacific intentions, will take advantage of the Bilbao victory to withdraw their support from Franco. It is said that the two fascist powers have long ago tired of the war and that they were but awaiting an opportunity, such as the Bilbao victory affords, to recall their volunteers without loss of prestige. The second point emphasized in loyalist circles is the increasing willingness of Catalonia to cooperate with Madrid. Finally, it is argued that by the end of summer, the loyalists will have a force of 800,000 men, capable of crushing Franco's much smaller army.

SMILES

Scientists at Cornell University have succeeded in giving a pig nervous prostration. Now let them turn their talents to scaring a road hog out of his wits, if any.
—*Washington* POST

The Post Office Department delivered two cans of sardines through the picket lines at a steel mill. Other dangerous weapons, however, have been firmly barred from the mails.
—*Hartford* DAILY COURANT

A hair culturist thinks that the 30 per cent of our American men who are bald-headed should prove a striking object lesson to the younger generation. Shining example, perhaps!
—*Boston* HERALD

Clerk: "I thought I'd tell you I've been here just 25 years, sir."
Boss: "So it's you that's worn this hole in the carpet!"
—PEARSON'S

"OH, I HAVE NO LICENSE. THEY'D NEVER GIVE ME A LICENSE FOR THE WAY I DRIVE."
BEN ROTH IN COLLIER'S

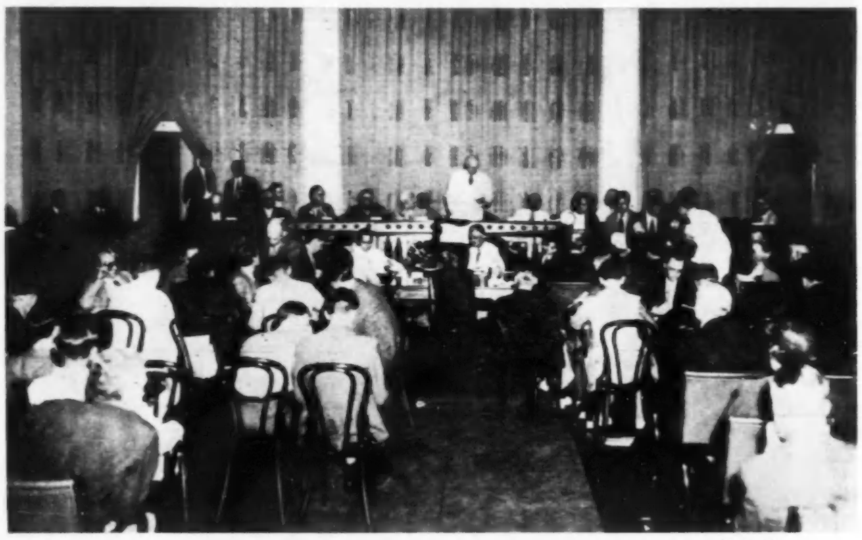
A census taker, on asking a woman how old she was, received the following answer:
"Do you know how old the Hill girls are next door?"
"Sure," he replied.
"Well, I'm as old as they are."
The census taker wrote down, "As old as the Hills."
—*Whitewright* SUN

According to an explorer, a tiger will not harm you if you carry a white walking cane. That might depend, we should think, on how fast you carry it.
—CAVALCADE

Things are returning to normalcy. People have quit trying to find a mistake in the addition of the check for the dinners.
—*Atlanta* GEORGIAN

"Do you remember the old saying, 'A friend in need is a friend indeed'?"
"Yes, Stranger."
—HOOD MAN

A retailer, on receiving the first delivery of a large order, was annoyed to find the goods not up to sample. "Cancel my order immediately," he wired to the manufacturer.
They replied: "Regret cannot cancel immediately. You must take your turn."
—CALENDAR



H. & E.

CONGRESSIONAL TAX HEARING GETS UNDER WAY
General view of the opening hearing of the joint congressional committee probing tax evasion and avoidance.

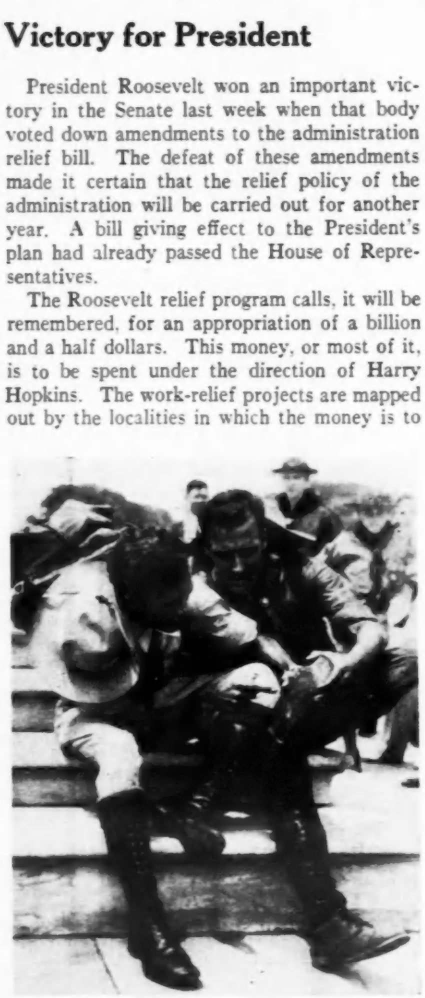
The Week in t

What the American People

Victory for President

President Roosevelt won an important victory in the Senate last week when that body voted down amendments to the administration relief bill. The defeat of these amendments made it certain that the relief policy of the administration will be carried out for another year. A bill giving effect to the President's plan had already passed the House of Representatives.

The Roosevelt relief program calls, it will be remembered, for an appropriation of a billion and a half dollars. This money, or most of it, is to be spent under the direction of Harry Hopkins. The work-relief projects are mapped out by the localities in which the money is to



H. & E.

VENEZUELAN BOY SCOUTS ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON AFTER A TWO-YEAR HIKE

be spent and must finally be approved by the Hopkins organization. An effort is made to get the local governments to contribute as much as they can to the support of the work-relief projects, with the federal government paying the rest. The Hopkins organization retains authority to decide in each case how much the local organization can reasonably be asked to give. In some cases the local communities are putting up about half the money, while in the cases of communities which appear unable to raise money, the federal government is bearing all the costs.

When the bill authorizing the continuation of this policy came before the Senate, Senator Byrnes of South Carolina proposed that the local governments should put up 40 per cent of the cost of projects erected in their territory. The setting of this definite figure would have taken a great deal of the authority away from the Hopkins organization. The administration opposed such a step. Then Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, the Democratic leader in the Senate, who heretofore has been an almost unfailing follower of the President, took a step on his own initiative without consulting Mr. Roosevelt. He introduced an amendment providing that the local communities contribute 25 per cent of the cost of projects. His amendment contained the proviso that if a local community could not afford to make such a contribution an exception might be made and the work might go on, with the federal government paying for it. The decision in such a case, however, was not to rest with the Hopkins organization. Independent investigators were to be appointed to decide whether or not the local communities were able to put up as much as 25 per cent.

A spirited debate developed on this amendment. In favor of it was the argument that it offered a reasonable means of cutting down expenditures by the federal government and of imposing a larger share upon local communities. Against it the argument was made that it was a thrust at Hopkins and the relief administration as it had been carried on. Close followers of President Roosevelt said that a vote for the amendment would be a vote of lack of confidence in the President's relief organization.

Many of the old-time Democratic leaders and all but two of the Republicans voted for the Robinson amendment, but the administration lined up enough support to defeat it, the vote against it being 49 to 34. The Byrnes amendment was then defeated by an even heavier vote, and it was apparent that the presidential plan had won.

Congress

The fate of other important items in the President's legislative program is in doubt. A number of important measures will pass if they are voted upon, but Congress will probably adjourn without reaching a number of them. Whether the Supreme Court plan will come to a vote at this session is uncertain. A good many senators, unwilling to vote for it, but anxious to avoid taking a definite stand against the President, would like to adjourn without taking any action on the measure. They may have their way. Some predict that Congress will adjourn by the middle of July, though most observers think it will hold at least until the first of August.

The general opinion in Washington is that the wages and hours bill has about an even chance to pass, though probably in a greatly modified form. There may be some kind of farm legislation, though it appears that the "ever normal granary" bill and the crop insurance bill, both advocated by the President and Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, will go over until the next session. A little money may be appropriated to lend to tenant farmers and sharecroppers to buy farms, but nothing very fundamental will be done with relation to the tenancy problem. The plan to reorganize the federal government will in all probability not be acted upon this session. The Wagner Housing Act may pass, though that is doubtful. It seems probable that the pure food law will not be reached.

The Steel Strike

The federal government has finally taken action with respect to the steel strike. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins appointed a Steel Mediation Board, whose duty it was to hear evidence on both sides and to try to bring the conflicting parties together. The board had no power to compel the acceptance of its terms. It was not a board of arbitration, but merely of mediation. The chairman of the board is Charles P. Taft, son of former President William Howard Taft, a Republican leader in Cincinnati who has a reputation for fair-mindedness on labor matters. Other members are Edward McGrady, assistant secretary of labor, who has been a successful conciliator, and Lloyd K. Garrison, of the University of Wisconsin faculty, at one time chairman of the National Labor Relations Board.

By the time this board was appointed, violence had appeared where strikes were in progress, and greater violence was threatened. The workers were picketing the plants and in certain cases were using force to prevent nonstriking workers from taking their places in the mills. The steel companies were also resorting to violence, in some cases hiring strikebreakers to use force in dispelling the picketers.

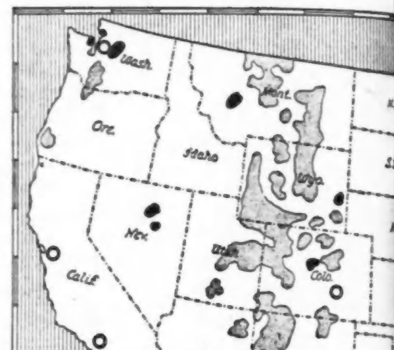
The Mediation Board called upon both sides to cease their warfare and present their cases to the board. The workers signified their willingness to do so. The employers refused to discuss the issue which had produced the strike.

The steel companies announced that they would open their plants, using nonstriking workmen, last Tuesday morning. It seemed probable that violence would follow such an act. The Mediation Board, headed by Charles P. Taft, requested them not to open the mills. President Roosevelt joined the request, asking the heads of the Republic Steel and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Companies not to reopen. "In the promotion of public safety and in the interest of a reasonable and peaceful settlement which should be expected and can be attained," he said, "I earnestly join with the board in this request to you."

Governor Martin Davey of Ohio backed the President's request with force. He sent troops to the mills and prevented their reopening.

The action by the Mediation Board, Governor Davey, and President Roosevelt, together with similar action in forcing mills not to open by Governor Earle of Pennsylvania, constitutes a departure from the usual governmental action in the case of labor warfare. When strikes have occurred before, it has been customary for the owners of the plants to keep them going if possible, regardless of attempts by the strikers to close them. Force has often been used on both sides, and bloodshed has occurred. In such cases the power of the government has ordinarily been used to protect the plants. If the strikers were using force against nonstrikers, and if the situation became bad enough, troops have been sent in to keep the strikers away so that the plants might operate peacefully. Troops have not ordinarily been sent in to keep the plants from operating with nonunion labor. The theory has been that the action of plant owners in keeping their plants going has been legal, and that the action of strikers in trying to close the plants, if this action has resulted in violence, has been illegal.

The government is now acting upon another theory. That theory is that the owners of the plants and the workers have failed to agree upon the terms under which the work should be carried on. This failure to agree has led fighting and danger or bloodshed. The govern ment calls upon the two parties to resort mediation. If they do not do so, it will st the operations which are leading to violen It holds that the opening of the mills und the circumstances incites violence. Until the is mediation or some kind of peaceful arrang ment, the government will keep the employe from operating the plants and it will keep t



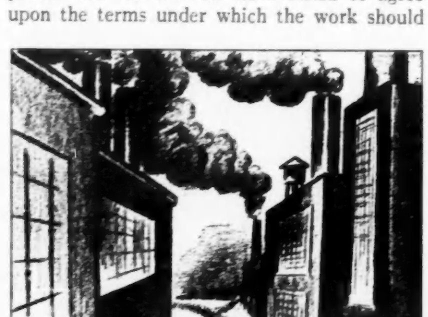
workers from resorting to acts of force. As result of this action, the striking workers d not have jobs. They will feel the pressure come to terms, so that their pay will be r sumed. The employers will be obliged to sto operations and will also be under pressure negotiate so that their business will be r sumed. Under the present arrangement, so is contended, the strikers are not allowed take possession of the employer's property neither are the employers permitted to tak away the strikers' jobs and give these jobs someone else, until time has been given f mediation. Such, at least, is the theory up which the government's action has been take

Still Improving

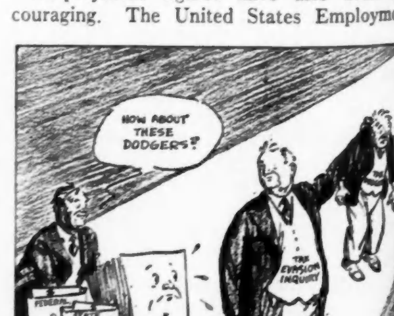
Reports of business conditions continue be encouraging. In the first place, forei trade has shown a marked increase during th last few months. For the months of Januar February, and March, American exports i creased 24 per cent over the same period 1936, while imports increased 38 per cent.

The total value of goods exported from th United States during those three months w 711 million dollars. Great Britain was o best customer, with Canada as a close secon We bought more from Canada than from a other country, increasing our orders 36 p cent. Total imports for the three mont of this year amounted to 758 million dolla

Employment figures have also been e couraging. The United States Employme



TALBURT IN WASHINGTON NEWS
ONE PICKET LINE THAT MUST HOLD

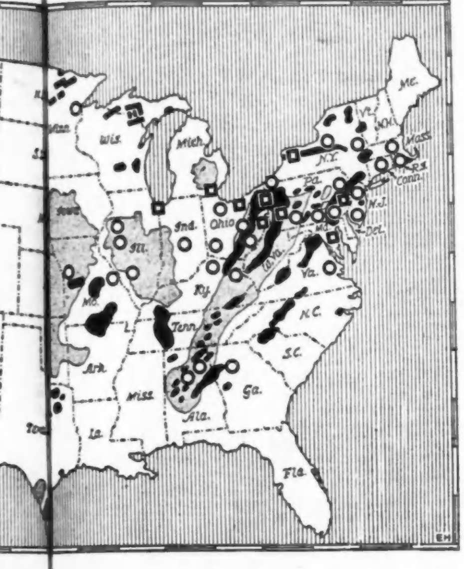


CARMACK IN CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
SPEAKING OF EVADERS

e United States

le Doing, Saying, and Thinking

Service placed more persons in jobs in May than in any other month of its existence. For 15 months, the total has increased with each succeeding month. At the same time, the number of persons placed in emergency relief jobs is gradually declining. In New Jersey, for example, the number of persons on work relief during May declined 14 per cent, and the number of persons placed in private jobs increased 16 per cent. These figures naturally do not



include persons who found jobs through other channels than the U. S. Employment Service. Similar tendencies in employment are noted in other states.

The Under Third

According to a recent study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, about a third of the wage earners' families of the nation have insufficient income to meet the minimum requirements of a decent standard of living. In order to get along at all, most of them are obliged to go into debt. An investigation shows that 23 per cent of the native white families of Chicago are either on relief or had incomes of less than $1,000 a year. Figures from four southern states show that approximately 75 per cent of the farmers had incomes below that figure. The Bureau cites the following additional instances of the low standard of living of a large section of the population:

In some cities only two-thirds of the workers' families have running hot water inside the house. Almost every third family has no gas or electricity for cooking. Relatively few have electric refrigerators.

In some cities a third of the employed workers' families do not have enough money to buy the foods that are necessary for a minimum adequate diet.

The representative wage earner's family spends about 12 cents out of every dollar for clothes. This means that the husband must make his suit last about four years. The wife cannot afford to buy anything better than $5 or $6 dresses. She must limit her millinery purchases to one winter hat and one summer hat every year.

Even with these limited expenditures it is not an easy job for the American wage earner to break even.

Installment Buying

"A dollar down and a dollar a week" is a system which was very popular in the United States from 1920 to 1929. With the coming of the depression, however, the masses of people could no longer get easy credit terms, and besides, they could not take care of the bills which were already charged against them. Installment buying dropped to only a fraction of what it had been. Now the Department of Commerce announces that almost one-third of all retail sales for 1936 were made on credit, and figures show that this is almost the same as for 1929.

Much of this total, of course, is accounted for by monthly charge accounts. These accounts are usually paid up at the end of each month and are not classed along with long-range installment buying. There has been a tremendous increase, though, in this latter type of buying. Such purchases amounted to 4½ billion dollars in 1936, an increase of 25 per cent over the previous year.

There is considerable concern over this big increase in installment buying. Many economists believe that this method of purchasing goods was largely responsible for the 1929 crash. People during the twenties did not have sufficient purchasing power to keep factories busy, so the nation's businessmen hit upon the device of installment buying. If the people could not afford to pay for what they wanted, they could pay for it later. It is easy to understand how this practice, when adopted on a wide scale, would have serious results. The people were buying far more than they could afford, thus mortgaging their future. Factories expanded on the expectations that the people could keep on purchasing as much as they were. But the time came when the bills had to be paid. The people cut down on their purchases, the overexpanded factories had to reduce their operations, throwing men out of work, and the whole system collapsed.

This, by no means, was the entire cause of the depression. But most economists agree that too extensive installment buying is bad policy. If people do not have sufficient purchasing power to consume what is being produced in factories and on farms, it is no solution to enable them to use their next year's income in paying off this year's debts.

Contact Lenses

Eye glasses have become so common that they are hardly noticed, yet many people, particularly young women, prefer to have poor vision rather than wear glasses. Science has once more come to the rescue, this time with "contact lenses" which fit directly over the eyeball, underneath the lids. The lens itself fits over the cornea, or colored part, of the eyeball and is raised about three-thousandths of a millimeter so that it does not touch the cornea. The rest of the glass fits over the white part of the eyeball and serves to hold the lens in place.

At the present time, there are approximately 4,000 persons in the United States using contact lenses. Doctors say that glasses of this type will correct some defects in the eyes which ordinary glasses will not help. Athletes have found them practical for such sports as skiing and swimming, and there is not a single case of breakage recorded yet.

Reading the News

Mr. William Wattenberg, of Northwestern University, has made up a list of questions which any reader may well ask himself about any paper which purports to give him news:

The first step is to make a thorough study of the paper. Who owns it? In what other business are the owners or directors engaged? Who advertises in the newspaper? What editorial policy would the advertisers like to see in regard to taxes, tariffs, labor, war, relief?

What groups in the community is the paper eager to attract? How does it go about doing this? Does it have a separate financial page for businessmen? Does it seek to build a large miscellaneous circulation by headlines dealing mostly with crime and sex? What groups are seldom represented in the paper except by unfavorable items? Why? . . .

In what way does editorial policy find expression in the news columns? Are certain items given too great prominence? Are other items buried? Are the headlines accurate?

WINTER ALONG THE KENNEBEC
(From an illustration by Maitland de Gogorza for "Kennebec: Cradle of Americans")

NEW BOOKS

"A Mind Mislaid"

After an extremely distinguished and useful career as a social historian and founder of the Museum of the City of New York, Henry Collins Brown cracked, a few years ago, and was sent as a mental patient to Bloomingdale Hospital. He has written about his confinement there and the eventual recovery of all his mental faculties in "A Mind Mislaid" (New York: E. P. Dutton. $2).

Mr. Brown's book is interesting not only as a case study of mental illness. It undertakes to correct many of the misconceptions, stressing particularly that mental ailments, like physical, can be absolutely cured. Mr. Brown, with a sense of humor and balance, traces the process by which he returned to a normal mental life. As a final word of advice to his readers, he warns of the dangers which, if not avoided while there is yet time, may lead to a nervous breakdown or other mental disorder in the case of almost anyone.

Rivers of America

In a series of volumes, called Rivers of America, American history is to be described from a unique point of view, with emphasis not upon individuals or popular movements, but rather upon geography and environment. The first book in this series, "Kennebec: Cradle of Americans" (New York: Farrar & Rinehart. $2.50) has been written by Robert P. Tristram Coffin. The author is a distinguished contemporary poet. His story of how the Kennebec River, with its timber-grown banks, its fishing smacks, its sharp, biting winds has molded the lives of the Maine folk is far from being the dull narrative which a mere marshalling of the facts would have made it. The historical matter is, apparently, as precise and accurate as the average book of history permits. But Mr. Coffin goes beyond mere precision to give us a salty, poetic work, replete with humor and imagination.

Senator's Wife

Frances Parkinson Keyes' "Capital Kaleidoscope" (New York: Harpers. $3.50) is one of those chatty and informal books about the

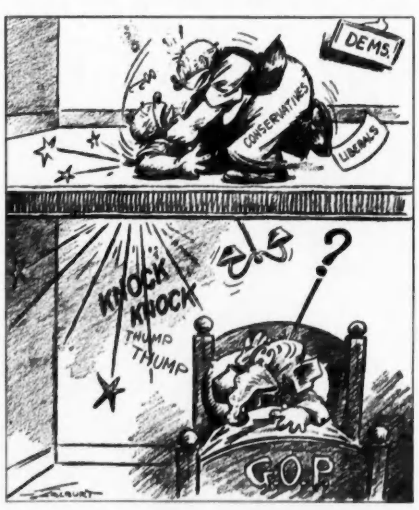
FRANCES PARKINSON KEYES
(Author of "Washington Kaleidoscope")

officially and socially prominent of Washington that have enjoyed such vogue during recent years. She is the wife of Senator Keyes of New Hampshire, who served from 1919 to 1931, and as such she formed a definite part of the kaleidoscope of which she has written.

Practically all the big political names of these years appear in these delightful reminiscences. As one of the ladies of the Senate, Mrs. Keyes had the opportunity to meet practically all of official Washington and to know a good part of it intimately. Her appraisal of high personages thus becomes more or less intimate. She has her strong likes and dislikes. Of the First Ladies who have graced the White House during those years, she has the most glowing praise for Mrs. Roosevelt, although she liked both Mrs. Harding and Mrs. Coolidge. She had a definite dislike for Mrs. Hoover, as she did of Lady Lindsay, wife of the British ambassador.

Since much of a senator's wife's life is filled with entertaining and being entertained, the greater part of Mrs. Keyes' book deals with the social side of Washington life. However, her interests are broader than those of the average senator's wife, as she is a recognized writer in her own name, and she gives a number of interesting sidelights on important events which she has covered. All in all, "Capital Kaleidoscope" is delightful reading and gives a real and intimate picture of those who make the wheels of the federal government go round.

BROWN IN AKRON BEACON JOURNAL
THE BEST ARGUMENT AGAINST WAR



TALBURT IN WASHINGTON NEWS
COULD THAT BE OPPORTUNITY KNOCKING?

Personalities in the News

Premier Van Zeeland Gets Princeton Degree

When Belgium's premier, Paul Van Zeeland, arrived in the United States last week to receive an honorary degree from Princeton University and to confer with President Roosevelt in Washington, rumors flew as to the real purpose of the statesman's visit. Few believed that he had come merely, or even primarily, to receive the doctor of laws degree, although this was given as the official reason. As one of Europe's leading statesmen, he is certain to have gone over the entire scene with Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. Van Zeeland's career has been as interesting as it has been spectacular. He comes from an upper-class Belgian family, studied law at the world-renowned University of Louvain, went into the army, and was taken a prisoner by the Germans. Following the war, he won a scholarship to Princeton where he did graduate work in economics. The subject of his M. A. thesis was the American Federal Reserve System.

WIDE WORLD
PAUL VAN ZEELAND

Following his return to Belgium, Mr. Van Zeeland entered the National Bank of Belgium, where he rose to the position of vice-governor. Because of his familiarity with banking and finance, he was chosen as a member of the cabinet in 1934 and was charged with straightening out the nation's financial tangle. In 1935, he became premier, a position which he has held since that time.

Premier Van Zeeland's program has been likened to the Roosevelt New Deal. He has inaugurated a number of important reforms and has succeeded in bringing a new degree of stability to the country. His influence extends beyond the borders of Belgium, however, for he is one of the leading figures in the so-called Oslo group (the Scandinavian countries, Finland, the Netherlands, and Belgium) which is cooperating on economic matters.

Charles P. Taft Heads Labor Mediation Board

Charles P. Taft, chairman of the board which President Roosevelt appointed to attempt to settle the steel strike, is singularly well qualified to fill that position, and his appointment has been widely acclaimed. Above all, he may be expected to display the fairness and impartiality required to consider issues so charged with dynamite. A member of the Republican party, he cannot be accused of administration leanings. At the same time, he is liberal and may be expected to give heed and sympathy to the workers' position.

H. & E.
CHARLES P. TAFT

"Charlie" Taft is the son of the late President and chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. He is only 39 years of age, but has had wide experience in dealing with public problems. When he was graduated from Yale in 1918 he won a special award for "good scholarship and high manhood." He became one of the leaders of the young men who launched a drive to rid Cincinnati of corrupt politicians and the spoils system. He was largely instrumental in establishing the city-manager system of government which made Cincinnati one of the best-governed cities in the country.

During the last campaign, Mr. Taft acted as a special adviser to Governor Landon. He is a specialist on the subject of social security, advocates strict regulation of public utilities, and believes that there must be a readjustment of the distribution of the national income in order to provide economic stability. Thus he may be described as a liberal, and as such has endorsed many of the Roosevelt policies, although quick to criticize others which he felt were dangerous, such as the plan to enlarge the Supreme Court. He is without question one of the more forward-looking young men of either party.

Senator Byrnes Opposes President on Relief

Senator James Byrnes of South Carolina is among those politicians from below the Mason Dixon line who under the New Deal have been faced with the uncomfortable choice of opposing the President or subscribing to measures which their innate conservative traditions reject. As a southerner, he represents a region which both by history and temperament is opposed to the centralization of power, that demands that government so far as possible be localized. But as a member of the Democratic party, the senator is naturally expected to fall in line with New Deal proposals, most of which have tended to obliterate state lines and centralize power in Washington.

H. & E.
SEN. JAMES BYRNES

Since 1931, when he was elected to his present post after serving for many years in Congress, Mr. Byrnes has generally not balked at the New Deal program. In fact, he is among the most ardent defenders of the President's judiciary reorganization plan. But last week, he took the first plunge into that rapidly mounting current of Democratic opposition to the White House. He introduced an amendment to the relief appropriation bill requiring that local communities provide 40 per cent of all funds spent on nonfederal projects. The bill, as it happened, was defeated by the administration bloc, but Mr. Byrnes' proposal definitely eliminates him from the ranks of those upon whom President Roosevelt could without question always rely for support.

Governor Earle Possible Presidential Timber

When Governor Earle ordered the Cambria plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation to close, probably no one was surprised, for it is now five years since the wealthy sugar manufacturer and son of one of Philadelphia's best families deserted the cause of his friends.

Like so many other wealthy men who have grown tired of their easy life and have turned to some outside interest for occupation, George Earle was ready for action when some of his old schoolmates asked him to work for Roosevelt in 1932. His first contributions were in the form of campaign subscriptions, which were rewarded by the post of minister to Austria in 1934. But his stay there was not long, and in a short time he was called back by the Democratic machine in Pennsylvania to become candidate for governor. He became very popular with the miners and workers on whose behalf he sponsored much progressive legislation. His administration has been definitely prolabor. He has put an end to strikebreaking activities of the state police, he has seen that relief was administered on a strictly nonpolitical basis, he has won the support of Pennsylvania's Negroes by signing an equal rights bill enabling them to sue for damages in cases of race discrimination.

H. & E.
GOVERNOR EARLE

Having risen to his present position with the aid of labor, and particularly the aid of the C. I. O., Governor Earle has taken a position very much like that taken by Governor Murphy. A New Dealer by temperament as well as by training, he is mentioned as likely material for the presidential candidacy in 1940.

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

"The Mails Must Go Through"

As "The show must go on" has become a firmly rooted tradition of the American theater, drilled into the consciousness of every actor, so "The mails must go through" has long been the byword of the horde of postal workers who are responsible for the efficient running of the United States post office service. Whether it was the old pony express, the railroads, or the airplanes, the tradition has held sway that nothing must prevent the mails from reaching their destination.

Because the mails have failed "to go through" to workers in steel mills which have been surrounded by strikers, a serious issue has arisen during the last few weeks. On the one hand, the Post Office Department has been sharply criticized for refusing to deliver food, clothing, medical supplies, and other things to workers inside the plants. By so acting, it is charged, the federal government is actually taking sides in the dispute. It is helping the strikers by refusing to permit necessary things to reach those who have not joined in the strike.

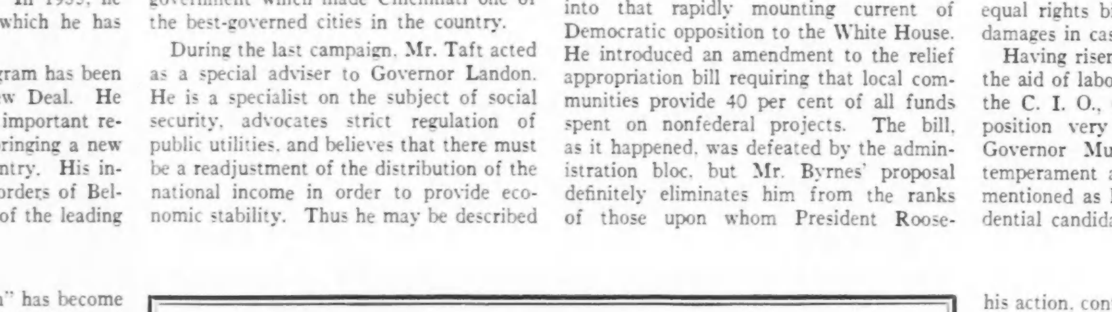
On the other hand, Post Office authorities contend that they have in no way violated the neutrality which the government should maintain in labor disputes. All regular mail is allowed to go through the picket lines, and only the irregular or abnormal mail—the food and clothing and other supplies—have been halted. Should the postal authorities have acted differently, it is alleged, they would have in fact been taking an unneutral stand, for they would have been working to the detriment of the strikers.

Whatever may be the merits of these opposing arguments, there can be little doubt as to the seriousness of the controversy. A congressional investigation has been called and the whole matter is being widely debated in the nation's press. Historical precedents are being dug up to prove the contention of one side or the other. Particularly is the action of President Cleveland in the famous Pullman strike of 1893 being cited. At that time federal troops were called out against the strikers who interfered with the mails.

"If it takes the entire army and navy of the United States to deliver a postal card in Chicago, that card will be delivered," declared President Cleveland at the time of the strike. The Pullman strikers had succeeded in tying up traffic in many parts of the country. They had dealt a crippling blow to commerce and industry because goods could not be transported and factories had to close down.

President Cleveland has been both commended and rebuked for calling out federal troops in the great labor disturbance. The press was almost unanimous in its praise of his action, contending that had he not acted with such decisiveness, anarchy would have resulted. Moreover, it was clearly the President's duty to see that the mails were allowed to go through and to see that the channels of interstate commerce were kept open. However, the use of armed force was severely criticized in a number of quarters. It was charged that Cleveland was unduly influenced by Attorney-General Olney who was strongly antilabor and who had served as a railroad attorney; that the situation could have been handled without the use of federal troops. A fair appraisal of Cleveland's action is given by Allan Nevins in his "Grover Cleveland" (New York: Dodd, Mead):

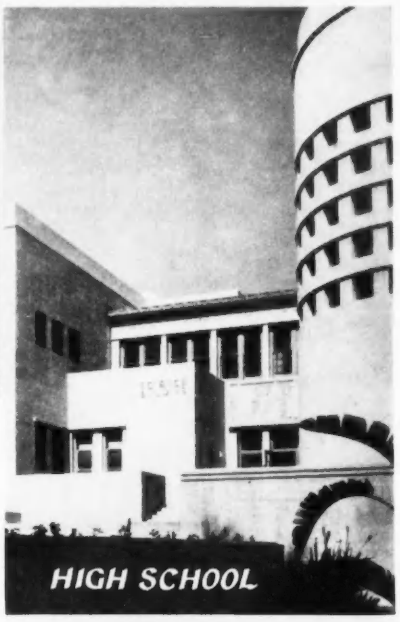
> Undoubtedly Cleveland did his duty as he saw it, or rather as Olney unhappily showed it to him. He acted with all his usual conscientiousness and courage. . . . But any observer who possesses a due sympathy for the rights of labor must feel that Cleveland was led sadly astray at several points by his impetuous and bellicose attorney-general. He played a far less happy part in this strike than Roosevelt did in the anthracite troubles of 1902; for by stern pressure Roosevelt forced the unwilling operators to arbitrate, and held the scales even between capital and labor. . . . The order to send the troops into Chicago was premature. Olney and Cleveland should have waited for at least another day. If then actual rioting had broken out, if state militia had not been on the spot, and if the federal marshal and his thousands of deputies had been unable to clear the tracks, Cleveland would have had far better warrant for using the regulars than he actually possessed.



PONY EXPRESS
(From a study for a mural by Frank A. Mechau for the Post Office in Washington, D. C.)


BRIDGE


COURT HOUSE


HIGH SCHOOL

Four Years of P. W. A.

"THERE has been nothing like the present public works wholesale disciplining, correction, improvement, and subjection of nature within a brief time since the world began." Thus writes the ultra-conservative *Wall Street Journal* in commenting upon the projects which the Public Works Administration has carried out since it was launched early in the Roosevelt administration. Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who has been in charge of the PWA during the four years of its existence, has described it as "the largest construction program in history."

Subject of Controversy

Few features of the Roosevelt administration's recovery program have been the subject of more bitter controversy than the PWA. The billions of dollars which it has poured into projects of one type or another have been partly responsible for the staggering deficit which the New Deal has piled up. But to its defenders, the PWA succeeded in turning the trick of curing the depression and starting the country on the upgrade. However one views its accomplishments, it has wrought mighty changes upon the United States, its projects having been scattered over all but three of the 3,701 counties of the country. As R. L. Duffus writes in a recent issue of the *New York Times Magazine*:

"From tiny schoolhouses to mighty dams, from village sewers to irrigation canals that sweep across state lines, or waterworks that bore through the backbone of the continent, from city parks to transmission lines that stride over mountains and across deserts—such is a part of the range of PWA."

Not only has there been a serious controversy over the question whether such gigantic spending is a sound economic policy, but there have been disputes within the administration as to the disposal which should be made of the funds appropriated. Secretary Ickes and Harry Hopkins, head of the Works Progress Administration, have frequently been at odds over the public works program. Mr. Hopkins has insisted that the primary purpose of the spending program was to provide quick reemployment. Thus he has emphasized projects which could be launched with a minimum of delay. Mr. Ickes, on the other hand, has stressed the importance of spending money for projects which would have a permanent value to the country. In selecting projects for public works allotments, the PWA has exercised great care in an effort to avoid wasteful use of the funds at its disposal. The precautions which it felt obliged to take, added to the natural delays attending initiation of a new program of such magnitude. At the end of the first year of its existence it had spent only a part of its funds. Naturally, it had failed to live up to the expectations of those who hoped it would make a great dent in the ranks of the unemployed. More recently, however, it has moved forward more rapidly.

It is difficult to measure the results of the PWA program. Many of the effects are indirect. Secretary Ickes estimates that for every person employed on a public works project, two additional workers have found jobs in private industry furnishing the materials. Mr. Duffus gives us an idea of the scope of its activities. "PWA filled its account books with figures that were almost astronomical," he writes. "It gave 1,500,000,000 hours of direct employment at prevailing wages; it ordered materials which set factory wheels turning, mines operating, quarries thundering, railroad cars and automobile trucks moving, and so gave another 2,000,000,000 hours of work to men who otherwise might have been on relief; it paid out $1,126,000,000 in direct wages and another $2,000,000,000 indirectly to the workers who produced and prepared its materials; it has another $1,000,000,000 worth of projects still to finish. It has built about 70 per cent of all schools erected in the United States since 1933, 62 per cent of the new hospital buildings and facilities, 52 per cent of the waterworks. In a single year 25 per cent of all bricks produced in the United States, about 75 per cent of all the cement, about 45 per cent of all the structural steel, and about 50 per cent of all the steel rails were for use on PWA projects."

Planning for Future

Whether the work of the PWA should continue once the nation has fully emerged from the depression, or whether it should be brought to a halt as soon as the projects which have been launched are completed, is a question about which there is considerable difference of opinion. Undoubtedly, the government will engage in a limited public works program, even when times are normal, because the need for certain projects will continue. The President contemplates a permanent program, for in his reorganization plan he has called for the creation of a Department of Public Works, presided over by an officer with cabinet rank.

Moreover, the groundwork has been laid for a long-range public works program, to extend over a period of five to 10 years. The National Resources Committee, which grew out of the National Planning Board, has been surveying the needs of the nation, examining projects submitted by state and local planning bodies, and has outlined a comprehensive program. Thus the delay which was necessitated by the lack of plans at the beginning of the present depression may in the future be avoided. Secretary Ickes has called attention to this early handicap of the PWA program:

"I believe that PWA has done a good job, but, as truly, I believe it might have done a better one. If we had been prepared properly, or even to a fair degree, the accomplishments would have been greater and the cost much less. The Roosevelt administration came into office on March 4, 1933. There was little in the files in Washington to indicate that any thought whatever had theretofore been given to planning of public works. There was no plan to fall back on and there was no time to wait for the formulation of one. The zero hour had arrived and the crisis had to be met."

Mr. Ickes believes that a carefully worked out public works program should be an essential governmental activity. "A public works program," he says, "is an essential government function and one which the government must stand ready to perform whenever an economic crisis develops. It becomes obvious after our recent experience that we must plan if we want to ameliorate the terrors of a like situation. We as a people cannot be and must not be content with the standards which we have set and under which we are operating. We must look forward in a broad and comprehensive program to the conservation of human resources so that we ultimately may attain a time of better equalized prosperity for all. All our efforts now must be toward the husbanding of our natural resources for the benefit of the people."

"Public works is only one element in the very large program of conservation of human resources of which I speak. But it is an important one. Public works has demonstrated in the laboratory of experience that in an emergency it can fight a depression with significant tools and over a broad front. Not to be prepared to fight a depression with all the known and tested instrumentalities either of individuals or of government is just as criminally stupid as to be unprepared if war should invade our country."


HOSPITAL

RUSSIA'S INTERNAL CRISIS

(*Concluded from page 2*)

promised too much with communist theories. It is for this and other reasons that they desire his downfall.

The outside world is interested in this dispute not only because it is a dramatic struggle for power within a nation, but also because of its effect on European diplomacy. The immediate result was to weaken the prestige of the Red Army. In the last year or two, Russia has seemed to be on the way to having a military machine second to none. But with the recent disclosures that there is much disloyalty among the military leaders, there is considerable doubt as to how effective the army would be in a crisis.


HOUSING

International Significance

At first it seemed that Hitler would try to take advantage of Russia's temporary weakness by pushing his old plan to have England, France, Germany, and Italy enter an agreement to guarantee the peace of western Europe, leaving Germany free to expand to the east, mainly in Russia. The main stumblingblock to this plan, in the past, has been France. With both France and Russia involved in an internal crisis, it seemed an ideal time for Hitler to revive his plan. In fact, arrangements were made for the German foreign minister, Baron von Neurath, to go to England to discuss this matter, as well as problems connected with the Spanish war. A great deal of publicity was given to the proposed visit, but at the last minute Hitler announced that von Neurath was too busy to go to London. England considered this a rebuke and was not too pleased. What changed Hitler's mind is not known at the time of this writing. Some foreign observers even go so far as to predict that Hitler may take advantage of the present Soviet crisis by striking out for Russian territory. Thus, it is to be seen that the internal, as well as the international, aspects of the Russian dispute may have serious consequences.


SEWERAGE PROJECT

Toward a New Party Alignment

(*Concluded from page 1*)

DOYLE IN NEW YORK POST

SOME PEOPLE ARE HAVING A LOT OF TROUBLE WITH THE EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

CARLISLE IN DES MOINES REGISTER

BACK TALK FROM THE VENTRILOQUIST'S DUMMY

really important. Most of the campaigns which the Democrats and Republicans have carried on since the Civil War have been merely sham battles. Issues from time to time have been set before the public, to be sure, but in most contests these issues have had little meaning. The Republicans and the Democrats have usually agreed as to the general direction governmental policies should take. Campaign orators have lashed themselves into a fury over such questions as whether the tariff rate should be a little higher or a little lower, or whether the government should be a little more or less vigorous in the prosecution of the trusts. Now and then really fundamental problems rose to the surface, as in 1896 and 1912, but these instances have been exceptional. The Republicans on the whole have suited businessmen a little better than the Democrats have, while the Democrats have, by and large, satisfied class-conscious labor somewhat better. The Republicans have usually had a majority of the farmers of the North, while the Democrats have had all the South and the large cities of the North. But vital issues there have not been. By 1928 the two parties were almost indistinguishable, except for leadership.

Fundamental Cleavage

During the period of sham battles between Republicans and Democrats, both relatively conservative, a long-continued fight was waged within the Republican party. Progressives, from the days of Theodore Roosevelt, have fought for control with the policy of economic and political liberalism. The Democratic party has also been divided between progressives and conservatives, but such fights are seldom very dangerous or bitter in the case of the party which is out of power. The opposing factions can work for their conflicting programs without coming to grips, so long as neither has any power. It is only when a party wins elections and has the power to pass laws that the factions come into dangerous and vital conflict for control, but the cleavage in the Democratic party was there, nevertheless.

The Republicans had been the majority party from the course of the Civil War until 1932. They had lost an occasional election, but only because of internal difficulties. Regularly, there were more Republicans in the country than Democrats. By the 1920's the majority was rather heavy. Then came the depression, and as a result of it the Democrats found themselves entrusted with authority, but the party was not united and had no clear-cut, definite party program.

There followed a political development of first importance. President Franklin D. Roosevelt set out to develop a program, one that was not in keeping either with the main tradition of the Democratic or the Republican party. In whipping this program into shape, he raised fundamental issues as to what the government should do. He strove to make of the Democratic party which he led, a party of distinct liberalism. The outline of the New Deal program included the following objectives:

New Deal Objectives

(1) The redistribution of the national income so that a large section of the public, hitherto very poor, should have a larger share. Such an objective had indeed been advocated at times, but as a sort of Utopian ideal. President Roosevelt made it an immediate political goal and formulated major measures to carry out the idea.

(2) Governmental responsibility for the under-privileged: The government went into the business of relieving the needy, those who could not find employment in private industry, the responsibility of all for those who were unfortunate—this was a new thing in American life; a radical departure from traditional policies. A beginning was made in the erection of a system of social security, by which the entire public was to help bear the burdens of unemployment, old age, and certain other hazards. Serious consideration was given to housing, and it began to be suggested that the government should subsidize housing. Some administration followers foresaw the day when minimum housing would be furnished all, just as education is finally coming to be furnished as the climax of a long development in that direction. At least, significant beginnings were made by the Roosevelt administration toward the assumption by the government of responsibility for the welfare of the poorest classes.

(3) Planning and guidance through the NRA, the TVA, and the AAA: The government began to plan economic development, to give attention to the possibility of controlling production and prices.

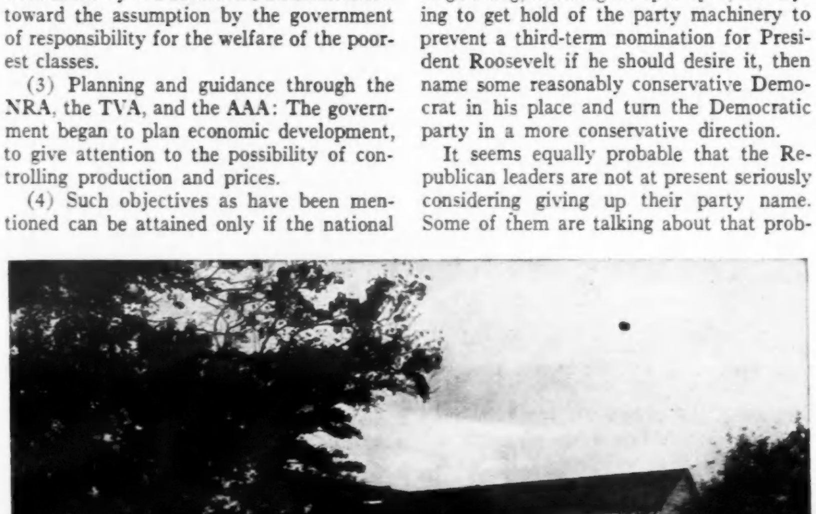
(4) Such objectives as have been mentioned can be attained only if the national government is strong and vigorous, so the Roosevelt administration, in defiance of Democratic tradition, came out for a new nationalism. This strong government was to use its power to the end that the poor elements of the population, the workers and the farmers, should have a larger share of the national income.

New Deal Attacked

Naturally, these policies looked strange and decidedly questionable to the leaders of both old parties. There were few protests during the critical days when the country was in the depths of depression, but as soon as recovery appeared well under way, the Republicans broke their silence and attacked the New Deal measures vigorously, though unsuccessfully. The Democrats went along with the President during his first term because his popularity was very great and they felt they did not dare to oppose him. There is no question, however, that a large proportion of the Democrats in Congress, men who had been associated with the party before the injection of the New Deal ideas, opposed the New Deal privately. There is considerable doubt whether, even today, half the Democrats of the House and the Senate are convinced New Dealers.

What are these Democrats, who do not like the new course which their party under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt is taking, to do about it? That question cannot be answered with certainty. The conservative Democrats in Congress are showing more independence than they did during the President's first term. It seems a safe guess that they will continue to assert themselves and that they will not be pliant followers. Most of them broke away on the Supreme Court issue and again on the details of the President's relief plan (see page 4). They will desert the President on other measures, but it does not seem likely that they will do anything more drastic at this time. It appears improbable that they will break openly with the President, or that they will take steps toward forming a new party. They are more likely to go along, avoiding an open split, but trying to get hold of the party machinery to prevent a third-term nomination for President Roosevelt if he should desire it, then name some reasonably conservative Democrat in his place and turn the Democratic party in a more conservative direction.

It seems equally probable that the Republican leaders are not at present seriously considering giving up their party name. Some of them are talking about that probability. They are keeping very quiet in Congress, allowing the Democratic opponents of the President to do all the talking. They are very friendly to these conservative Democrats. They are encouraging the Democratic split in every possible way, even going so far as to allow the impression to gain headway that they would cooperate with the conservative Democrats in forming a new party if the Democrats should break away from the President. When the next campaign comes around, however, it seems reasonably certain that the Republicans will be on the job again under the old name, securing such support as they can from disaffected Democrats, and waging another battle against the New Deal.



H. & E.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY CAMP ON JEFFERSON ISLAND IN CHESAPEAKE BAY

Majority Party

Meanwhile, President Roosevelt is trying to establish the Democratic party under his leadership as the majority party in the nation, something it has not been since the Civil War. A recent poll conducted by the Institute of Public Opinion indicates that he is meeting with a considerable measure of success. In this poll, the Institute asked voters which party they favored. Fifty-two per cent answered Democratic, 33 per cent Republican, and 15 per cent called themselves Independents. This poll is very significant. It indicates that many of the voters who broke away from the Republican party five years ago and who have been voting Democratic since, now consider themselves to be Democrats. President Roosevelt's job is to hold this slight majority and build it up.

A large proportion of workers and farmers have heretofore supported the candidates and the parties which have been indorsed by businessmen. A majority of the poor people of the nation have been willing to follow the leadership and guidance of the well-to-do. As a result of this fact, conservative parties have until recently had a majority of the people behind them and have determined the policies of the government. During the last five years there has been a break away from that leadership. A great majority of the workers of the nation—a majority of the Negroes, of the farmers, of people on relief—have voted Democratic. They have followed the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt. They have stood for a new governmental program, a program which calls for a redistribution of income in favor of the poor. Such an alignment of forces as we have seen is a new thing in American politics. Is it permanent? Can the President and his successors succeed in holding these elements together and in establishing a permanent majority for policies fashioned along New Deal lines? Can they do this, even though many of the old-time leaders in the Democratic party desert it? Or, on the other hand, is this new alignment of forces something temporary? Will the elements which, working together, have given the New Deal a majority of voters drift back to conservative leadership as soon as the depression is definitely a thing of the past, and as soon as the persuasive leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt is withdrawn?

That is the central question upon which the political future of America will turn. Meanwhile, we can at this time be certain of one thing: The battles of American politics for some time to come will be waged over issues which really count—issues more important probably than any which have stirred American thought since the Civil War.